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LE SOUS-ENTRÉE ZONAL - BRABANT FACILITY

A VINDICATION
OF THE
FRENCH
EMIGRANTS

561(112)

£11/10/-



A faint, grayscale background image of a classical building with four columns and a triangular pediment, possibly a library or museum. The image is centered and occupies the upper half of the page.

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A
VINDICATION
OF
THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS,
AGAINST
The Defamatory Proclamation
CIRCULATED
UNDER THE NAME OF AMNESTY,

26th APRIL, 1802,

BY NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, ALIAS BONAPARTE,
FROM AJACIO, IN CORSICA, STILING HIMSELF

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.

Translated from the French.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JOHN EXSHAW, 98, GRAFTON-STREET.

1803.

NOTARIAL

THE FRENCH EMBASSY

PARIS

NOTARIAL

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The Translator has taken the liberty, to subjoin a few Notes, not in the original publication, in order to make the passages to which they refer, more explanatory.

E. S. L.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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ABOUT twelve months have now elapsed since the following pages were first composed; a short time after the publication of a pamphlet circulated under the name of "Amnesty," against the King of France and his faithful subjects, by the Usurper of his Throne, and the destroyer of the liberties of his people. I was on the point of publishing them, convinced of the right which every man has to exculpate himself before those by whom he is accused. The legitimate exercise, however, of this incontestible right I had to conciliate with other duties. The Government under which I lived did not conduct itself towards the French Royalists, with humanity and justice alone, but extended to them its generosity and bounty. Gratitude imposed silence on me. The inveterate enemy of England, sought but for a pretext to break a peace, of which he would have made no other use but to prepare for a new war. I conceived it, therefore, to be my duty, not to furnish him with an excuse by the diffusion of a writing of this nature. This consideration, however no longer exists; and, I am at liberty to defend the sacred cause of my Sovereign and of all legitimate Sovereigns, with as much openness, as it has been attacked by the Oppressor of the French People, and the Disturber of the repose of Europe.



A

## VINDICATION

OF

## THE FRENCH EMIGRANTS,

&c. &c.

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FORCE has given you the power of defaming your enemies by proclamations. When proclamations became calumnious, those against whom they are directed, are authorized, both by divine justice and natural equity to repel them. The proclamations themselves frequently exact the duty. The force, by which you retain all your rights, does not permit me to bring you before a court of justice: The tribunals which should judge between you and me, have been destroyed by the faction, of which you have made yourself the president, and those with which you have substituted them, are of your appointment, made up of your creatures, and in some measure your accomplices. Suspicion, therefore, is reasonably attached to their impartiality. Were they not under your immediate domination, faith might yet be reposed in them, I except, however, your special military commissions, which, instituted

instituted by you, *Pour fusiller*, scrupulously discharge the duties of their situation.—For want of a competent tribunal, I rely with confidence on every honest man not dependent on you.—In accusing me by a public act, you have made the public a judge. I accept the tribunal. We shall appear before it, you with your successes, me with my misfortunes. Justice will pronounce on which side is the crime or the duty.

“ Tout vous a reussi : qui Dieu voye et nous juge ! ”

ATHALIE.

To the defamatory proclamations which you have circulated, you have affixed your name. If my defence is anonymous, it is not from dread of you—no, your faction has already afflicted me, with every misfortune, which man can possibly experience. It has deprived me of my country, my family, and my property. *My country!* Thirty millions of Frenchmen, oh shame! are slaves of a Corsican adventurer; alternately the satellite of Robespierre, and of Barras.—Successively an Atheist in the national institute, a Mussulman at Cairo, and a Catholic at Paris.—*My family!*—part of them, have been murdered by the villains that you have served; my wife has perished by a series of long imprisonments; my children live it is true, but they are orphans though their father still exists. *My property!* It has been swallowed up, with all other property, in this vast abyss, by the insatiable avarice of those, your former masters, now your subjects. Under such afflictions, could I not then, without merit, expose myself to the vengeance even of a Corsican.—But my name is useless to my justification, an individual little known, of a numerous and respectable class of men, to whom you have dared to offer your infamous clemency.—

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What you term their crimes are mine. My cause is theirs, and their justification shall be mine.

Your flatterers (for flattery always attends tyranny) your cowardly flatterers, will require of me perhaps, why, resolved to reject with disdain your insolent amnesty, I am not content to live tranquilly under the banishment which I prefer to your pretended clemency, without attacking by useless complaints, *the Cyrus, the Alexander, the Cæsar*, (they have omitted to say *the Attila*) of his age. If they were but your slaves I would pity them.—Virtue may one day relieve them of their chains—they are your flatterers.—I will not degrade myself by answering them. But, I will declare to the hospitable nation, that offers an asylum to every honest man loaded with misfortunes, as well as to the barbarous nation who repels him, “If I  
“were still in the midst of my countrymen,  
“surrounded by my peers, thirty years of an  
“irreproachable life, would render my apology  
“superfluous.—But I will prove that it is not a  
“criminal your generosity receives, or that your  
“inhumanity repels. I am accused publicly:  
“my justification shall be public. Serious  
“crimes are imputed to me. I will prove  
“that those who impute them, are the very  
“people to whom their commission is to be  
“attributed. To convince you of it, it will  
“suffice, to call to your recollection briefly the  
“principal events which have forced me to  
“abandon my country, and which have forced  
“me to take up arms, not against her, but  
“against that series of abject and execrable  
“tyrants, who have successively oppressed and  
“dishonoured her.”

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When the spirit of sedition and revolt, which, for some years, had manifested itself in France, broke out in the year 1789, the Bourbon Family had reigned there during a period of eight hundred years without interruption, without having its rights to govern, once disputed by interior or exterior opposition. A similar duration of uninterrupted Sovereignty, was unknown in the history of the world. It evidently marked with the seal of rebellion every faction which would pretend to overturn it, otherwise we must renounce the idea of a legitimate Government as an absurd consideration. This race, in which the nation justly prided itself, and which it now generally regrets (for you would deceive yourself, if you mistook for its general sentiment, the adulations of your senate, of your tribunate, your council d'Etat, and your prefects, &c. among whom you have divided, and from whom you take alternately the spoils of France) this race I say, was constantly occupied in the happiness of the people; and, had incessantly laboured on a plan, which had the address to conceal its object from those which might have had the power to dispute it. It created commons and boroughs throughout its domains, an example, which the great vassals immediately followed in theirs; aiming always at its object but advancing with wisdom, it had successively augmented the privileges of this numerous and useful class. In 1302 it was united to the national assemblies, and by that means placed on a level with the other two orders of the state. In convincing them of the necessity of consenting to every law and tax, it secured its independence and gave to it the power of maintaining and extending its rights. Under the tutelary protection and benevolence of the kings of this race were raised, those numerous,

nerous, and once flourishing cities, now impoverished, with which France was covered, and which furnished to it, as well as to a great part of Europe, the products of every art, with which civilization is connected.

The descendant of so many monarchs, was a religious, just, and economical prince; an enemy to ostentation, a man devoted to the affairs of his country, a good parent, a kind relation, an excellent husband, and possessed of all the virtues for which an individual is distinguished among his equals, without being tainted by a single vice. His enemies, even his assassins have not dared to charge him with one. This prince was proved by a reign of fifteen years. He re-established the maritime power of France.—He supported the cause of the American Rebels against their Sovereign it is true, but that was owing to the deception of his pernicious ministers, and the spirit of the age in which he lived. Victorious in this war, he concluded it with a degree of moderation with which his heart was overpowered. This very moderation, however, did not prevent him protecting the independence of Bavaria, and the republic of Holland, against an ambitious sovereign, whom he loved as a relation, but whom he knew how to rule with firmness without giving offence. Of his own free will, while he was still enjoying, without reclamation, the plenitude of his power and authority, he abolished the pain of death against deserters, the torturing of criminals, and in short the personal *main morte*, the greatest abuse of the foedal system. During the course of his reign not a single individual was tried by a special commission; whilst under your government, there is scarce a judgment but what is pronounced by a commission of this nature; and, when the villains, called from every part of the

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country,

country to assist in the work of rebellion, forced the gates of the bastille, they discovered there but five prisoners, for whom the very prison was a pardon, for they almost all merited death. At this day the temple (A) and numerous other state prisons abound with victims whom your dark and restless jealousy daily confine there, although they are from time to time emptied by numerous transportations to the most remote and unwholesome countries in the universe (B). Which lot is the more cruel to experience? An immediate death under the guillotine, as in the period in which Robespierre lived, or to seek a gradual and lamentable death 2000 leagues from one's own country under his pupil Buonaparté? The taxes were then moderate—at present the inhabitants of France have to pay, exclusive of the ancient impositions, which you have re-enacted, exorbitant duties for roads, for stamps, for registering, for windows, for patents, and a number of other taxes unknown under the monarchy.—No branch of the administration, either civil or military, was ever neglected—the liberty of the subject was respected, the enrolments were free, the young men were not dragged to arms, under the title of liberty, as they are at present under the consulate—the enrolment of the militia existed but for six years; neither were those to whose lot it fell, and who were permitted to find substitutes, removed from their homes and occupations. The police establishment was brought to a degree of perfection, unknown in any other part of the world; and for which there was no necessity, as at present, to have recourse to 20,000 gendarmes, who are so many keepers of the peace, invested with authority, with arms in their hands, to make as many domestic visits as their fancy directs, and night and day arrest the citizens even in the arms  
of

of their wives: 3000 cavalry were sufficient for the purpose. In one word, *subjection* under the kings had every appearance of liberty, while that which you dare to term *liberty*, has every symptom of slavery. From the regret which seemingly pervaded the minds of the French, for want of the antient national assemblies, but which had been suspended 174 years, Louis XVI. assembled the most respectable persons of his realms, to consult them on this most important subject. He was guided entirely by their wish:—he convoked the states-general—he assimilated the form of this assembly to that which the innovators represented as most desirable for his people. If he committed an error, in deviating from the antient forms of monarchy; it was not the part of those by whose admonition he acted, to punish him for the conduct he observed.

The states-general restored to their former functions that had been suspended for 174 years, it was but natural to expect, that the first act of this body would have been to throw themselves at the feet of a sovereign, whose benevolence had surpassed that of Titus and Antoninus, to express to him their acknowledgments for the numerous and essential services he had rendered to his people; and to manifest their zeal to assist him in the projects he had in view for the public felicity? No! for so much goodness, and for so many virtues as he possessed, they repaid him by a revolt without motives, and without pretext. After frequent disputes, the members of this assembly obtained, with the assistance of the villains in their pay, a form of deliberation, which secured their projects. After having armed the inhabitants of the country, they effected a massacre and destruction of the entire of France—they dragged the king and his family to Paris—they stripped

stripped him of his title, the rights of which were too well founded to substitute a new title, the establishing the signification of which they reserved to themselves. They forced the princes of the blood to fly from a country, where their existence was in a state of insecurity; they effected a revolt among the troops; they prepared the overthrow of religion by the introduction of schism—by degrading its ministers in the eyes of their laity—by pillaging the churches, and even the very asylums which christian charity had opened for the poor and infirm, and which it had endowed with its own alms. Those worthy patriots whom you have so faithfully served, extended their rage so far as to desire to murder this excellent prince and his queen in their palace. He escaped death, but to become the prisoner of this rebel faction; who from that period employed his name, but as a mean of destroying his authority. In their fury they abolished even their own title, in rejecting with disdain the injunctions of the primary assemblies who had created them, and to which, adhering to the forms of the French government, they had sworn to conform. It was thus, that after having revolted against the monarch who chose them, they deserted the nation who returned them; and from an assembly whose decisions were legal, became a conventicle of individual conspirators.

Obliged to choose between my legitimate sovereign and that factious and perjured assembly, who had committed so many crimes in so short a time—who had caused or prepared all the misfortunes with which France and Europe are afflicted—between the virtuous Louis the XVI. and the base villains who had revolted against him; between so many respectable citizens on the one part, and so many detested names with which I  
see



see you surrounded on the other ; between the religion of Christ, and the doctrine of the scandalous Mirabeau, so basely vicious, that even his talents could not palliate his turpitude.—Obliged to choose, say I, was I rebel and criminal in defending my king, the laws of my country, my religion ? Were you innocent and faithful in serving those, who assassinated their monarch—who overturned the constitution of their country—who corrupted the manners of the people—and who destroyed the very altars, which you now pretend to restore ? If you are sincere to day, you were then surely criminal ; and it is by your repentance, it is in making of your momentary power, the practice which justice points out, and not by an amnesty, that you should endeavour to efface from the minds of men, the stigma attached to you. Such conduct alone can elevate you above your false grandeur. At the period to which I allude, which party incurred every torture that divine and human justice could inflict ? Which party could consider an amnesty as its greatest, its only hope ? Ah ! it is but too well known, that the conviction of their crimes and the despair of obtaining a pardon, forced your former masters, and all those who like you, distinguished themselves in their service, to commit additional crimes, more horrible still, than those by which they were preceded.

To this assembly designed *Constituante* which laboured systematically to corrupt human nature, who established the crime *en droit*, succeeded a set of men less criminal, though more vile, and more brutal. The assembly alluded to was named the *Legislative Assembly*. This assemblage of obscure villains, indignant that their predecessors should, through personal motives, set bounds to their crimes, in a short time relieved themselves of the  
burden

burden of this absurd constitution—the *Constituée* worthy daughter of the *Constituent* revolted against her parent. Their separation might have preserved France. The world was nearly lost by their alliance. The cunning and perversity observed by the one, together with the savage brutality of the other gave rise to the *Convention*. This monster, at its birth, invested itself like its predecessors and successors, without exempting the Consulate, with the unlimited right, to commit every crime from which it could derive advantage.

Such was the new sovereign you acknowledged. If I had been a rebel formerly, you were so at this period. For if the *Constituent Assembly* was authorized to grant an obligatory constitution to France, why did you serve with so much zeal this *Convention*, which had just overthrown the constitution, which you had sworn to support, not in the blood of its authors, (that would have been but just) but in the blood of more than five hundred priests or pontiffs, who, faithful to the lessons of their Divine master, called upon Heaven to amend the hearts of their assassins; in the blood of more than eight thousand respectable citizens of every age and sex, suddenly imprisoned, or sheltered, but in vain, in the most secret places, and murdered by ferocious brutes, who never heard their names pronounced; in short, in the blood of those brave and loyal foreigners (1) assembled under the religion of treaties, and the law of hospitality, to share with her own offspring in defence of France; and who were but to repel force by force, and to defend against thousands of assassins, the palace of our Kings, confided to their care by the very law

(1) The Swiss Guards.

then in existence—ah! I would have been a rebel against nature, and against my country, in serving those execrable monsters, who have destroyed the one and dishonoured the other; I acted virtuously and faithfully in taking up arms against them, under the banners of the principal powers of Europe, whom the instinct of humanity armed against so many crimes. Happy would it have been, if, forgetting ancient dissensions and contemptible interests, they had stifled the recollection and the example of these crimes in the blood of their principal authors!

You were then rebel to your King! you were afterwards rebel to the constitution, to which you had sworn at the feet of the *Constituent Assembly*, to be faithful, but I will do you the justice to affirm, that you were faithful to the *Convention*.

I could dispense with reminding my countrymen, of the crimes committed by this assembly, in which Robespierre and Marat, struggling in crimes, disputed the supremacy, until the former was delivered of his rival by the poignard of Charlotte Corday. Their crimes are engraved by sword and fire in impressions not to be effaced from one corner of France to the other. But, when I see the usurper who has so faithfully served this convention, surrounded by, and in his very confidence, men, who were the most signal in the bosom or service of this mixture of demons; viz. a Fouché, "*qui mitraillait en masse*" (2) at Lyons to celebrate the destruction of Toulon, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, become your principal minister (for your very existence depends upon his information) and selected by you to be the medium through which you pro-

(2) Mitrailler signifies to shoot with grape-shot.

claim your feigned clemency to the victims who have escaped his murderous hands; a *Larrere*, formerly a member of the committee of assassination, called the committee *du salut public*, a long time your agent with the French nation, which afterwards prosecuted him with so much bitterness; a *Brune*, a *Jourdan*, viceroy of Piedmont, and many others of your privy council—a *Jean-de-Bry*, the present governor of one of your provinces, and lately a colonel of the legion of Regicide, since accused by the voice of the nation, of the assassination of his own colleagues at Radstadt; a crime the commission of which he had the assurance to insinuate against the victorious hero (3), who so long rendered doubtful the glory of the French arms, I conceive it to be my duty for the safety of my country, to point out to it the leading crimes of this faction, with the remnant of which you are surrounded, to be the instruments of your domination.

The King, the Queen, his Sister, his Son an infant of eight years, all perished by a frightful death. Our Saviour on the Cross prayed for mankind, Louis XVI. his image, if the image of the Lamb without stain, can be found among men, prayed for his people. His daughter, whose very name softens every heart, and raises it against your usurpation, escaped from prison, only from the necessity which existed of redeeming the villain *Drouet* (4); the very first man who raised his hand against her father. The ashes of the worst of men repose tranquilly in the grave—their friends can daily moisten them

(3) The Archduke Charles.

(4) Drouet was post-master of Varrenne, and was the person who recognised the king, and prevented his escape from France.

with their tears. Your sovereigns at that period violated the peace of tombs; and the manes of so many kings were dispersed by their impious rage. Their noble race, the most antient in the known world, was banished its native soil, upon which it had reigned near nine centuries (C).

So many, endless murders, that, even of a prince,\* who though an accomplice, it could not save him, but too well prove the necessity which there was, for the princes of this race, to shrink from a certain death, from which their country could have derived no advantage; they justified it against the virulent declamations of your hired gazetteers; and of your own brother Lucien their worthy chief. Would the murderers of the virtuous inoffensive Elizabeth have spared her brothers; and the branches of the Conde's? The property of all France changed hands; death and banishment freed the new possessors of their predecessors. The temples were pillaged by the *constituents* who were to be found at the head of every crime, and every calamity; and the altars which they had polluted were destroyed by the *conventionists*.—The ministers of religion were either shot, drowned, transported, fugitives or apostates—even the asylums consecrated to the assuagement of the distresses of the poor, were violated, and the most execrable brutality, was the reward of christian charity, the most tender.—France streamed with blood; death ravaged it under every form and every pretext,—neither sex, nor age were spared.—The prisons were inadequate for the numbers of victims.—The habitations abandoned by so many thousands of fugitives, were not sufficient to contain the number of prisoners; entire cities were transformed into gaols, *three hundred thousand* persons were at

\* Duke of Orleans.

once arrested by the laws then in force, in order to furnish victims for the regular murders, which the sovereign you served caused to be effected.— Their foolish rage even extended itself to the proscription of Deity.

It was under the banners of this faction that you commenced your career in the army; at least your preceding exploits have remained in an obscurity, from which your enemies will not be eager to extricate them—it was under its chief, Robespierre—*it was in the blood of your fellow-citizens*, if a Corsican can be considered a citizen of France, that you laid the foundation of your actual elevation.

The fugitive merchants of Marseilles, and the inhabitants of Toulon, wearied with cutting each others throats, starving on a barren soil, between France, which furnished them but with executioners, and the sea which was blockaded by the English and Spanish fleets, did not revolt as you asserted, to furnish you with a pretext to shoot them, but returned to the allegiance of their sovereign, and the royal standard admitted into their port, supplied them with sustenance, and furnished them with the hope of escaping the tyranny of your sovereign. At the expiration of some months, Toulon was evacuated by the royalists, and the allies of the king. Respecting the conduct you observed at this siege I will not speak. A few batteries directed with all the skill of an engineer, among which was that one, known by the name of the *convention*, are but a feeble mark of your glory, in comparison with those which you exhibited within the walls of Toulon. It was there, under the eyes of Barras, of Joseph Robespierre, and of his governor Fréron (for Robespierre has also reigned, and has been guillotined) that by your distinguished participation in the massacre of 1500 Toulonese disarmed and bound,

bound, whose only crime was a disinclination to starve, you merited glory so great in the eyes of the jacobins, as to be deprived of your commission some months after at Nice and imprisoned as a *terrorist* (5) when your patron fell. It was there, that after the first discharge fired on the unfortunate beings, your perfidious voice, assuming the accent of pity, to assassinate more surely, cried out to your mutilated victims, that the national vengeance was satisfied; and that those who had escaped might rise in safety; it was there, infamous wretch, that not being able to multiply your victims, you committed the crime known but to yourself of assassinating (if I may so express myself) twice:—if you deny the fact, give the lie to all France; to *Bessiroi* who arrested you, and to the flatterer, who has dedicated to your wife your *panegyric*, under the title of your history (6); but the jacobins, who defended so long *le noyeur Carrier* (7), and abandoned him in the end to the vengeance of the nation, in order to save the *Collot d'Herbois*, *Barrère*, &c. did not wish to deprive themselves of so faithful a servant as you.

The Convention, whose authority from its nature was necessarily provisory, could not last for ever. It gave birth to a third and fourth constitution, with the Directory at its head. The conventionists were not so much interested in the excellence of the legislature of France, as in the preservation of their own lives, from the vengeance of the entire nation, who abhorred them.

(5) Terrorist was the name given to the members of Robespierre's faction.

(6) Published by Barba at Paris, 1798.

(7) *Le Noyeur Carrier*, was the person employed to drown the inhabitants of Lyons.

They were all aware that the sudden expiration of their power might be the moment of their punishment. The principal article of the constitution, was that which placed in the new Sovereign assembly, the two thirds, at least, of the Convention; and committed the executive power, to the care of men the most guilty. Having the power of choosing the third part, which was to be removed; they secured to it the protection of the new government; and, in dismissing the least criminal, they weakened the hatred of the nation against them, and hoped to familiarize it with the idea of an *ex conventionnel* that would not be sent to execution. The people of France were indignant to see reign the villains who they intended to conduct to the scaffold; the citizens of Paris among others, legally assembled in *sections* to deliberate on the acceptance or refusal of the new law of election, refused to receive for their representatives, villains who wished to be so in spite of them. They took up arms; *Barras*, chief of the conventionels had been a witness of your first exploits, within the walls of Toulon. He elected you general of his Satellites; and, it was to serve *Barras* and the convention, and not in the name of liberty, that you *Corsean* massacred the people of Paris to the number of EIGHT THOUSAND, assisted I must confess, by the inhabitants of the suburbs; among whom several *Corseans* appeared; in this instance as in every other, it was you who were the rebel—it was you who marched with assassins against the citizens—it was you and your party, for whom an amnesty would have been the last term of human pity.

This victory, obtained over the French, secured you a wife (whom I abandon to her reputation) and with her the command of the army of Italy. At this important moment, fortunately for the  
French



French nation, your destructive talents were for a time directed to foreign nations. *Schérer*, by an important victory obtained in November 1795, repelled the Austrians on the other side the Appennines to the very gates of Genoa. Their army cantoned in the plain, defended the defiles, but with very feeble detachments. The French under your command forced the Appennines, and conquered the upper part of Italy.— You abused their valour, in turning their arms against those countries, who were not at war with France—such as Genoa, Venice, Lucca, Parma, Modena, and the Papal dominions. But you were not then a Catholic—you were a decided jacobin. It was at the head of the inhabitants of Marseilles and of the suburbs of St. Antoine that you enabled the citizens of Paris to be *free*. It was with the *bergamesques* of the little port of Genoa (D), with this noble part of the Republic, so particularly interested in its constitution and welfare, that the revolution at Genoa was effected. Your patriotic militia of the suburbs of St. Antoine some years before destroyed the statue of Henry IV; after their example the virtuous Bergamesques Patriots destroyed the image of Andrea Doria. In fact, the wretch who, content with restoring the legitimate government of his country, and had not the courage to usurp it, did not deserve statues. Those which are destined for you are much better merited. Where is the patriotic Frenchman who will not behold with delight the statue of Henry IV. this half conqueror, who besieging the rebels in Paris had not a sufficient force to destroy them by famine, replaced by the statue of the magnanimous hero *du treize vindemaire*. I will not remind you of the blood which the world reproaches you with having shed in Italy (E), nor of the immoderate pillage

pillage which it is asserted you there authorized by your own example. I will only speak of what I know to be fact—But I cannot pass in silence your loyal arbitration between the Grissons and the Valteline. You redressed the wrongs of its inhabitants, by confiscating their country to the profit of the Cisalpine, a *trick*, to which they are indebted for the honour of being this day your subjects.

The legislative body, which by successive rotations had purified themselves partly of the conventionists, were in open war with the Directory, and your protector Barras; a vulgar Republican would have supported the body of the Representatives of the nation, supported by two out of the five first magistrates, against three others that were rebels, but your friend Barras was one of the three. He had supported with you, the cause of liberty; so dear to the conventionists, against the citizens of Paris, who did not know that the greatest degree of liberty was to be represented *mal gre soi* by *ex-conventionists*. He supported it still against the national representation. You betrayed, anew in favour of liberty, the sovereign to whom you had sworn allegiance; you threatened with your legions, the south of France, roused at last against so many excesses. You deputed your confidants to Paris—and liberty, that idol of Barras, and of yours, in part, owed you a new triumph. Barras continued to make it reign, and the most respectable members of the national representation were sent into exile, to the most sanguinary deserts of the known world.

However great an opinion the public may entertain of the gratitude which you since so manifested to your benefactor Barras, they suspect the real motive which actuated you. The national  
representation

representation contained in its breast a numerous party animated with more sincere intentions for the re-establishment of their country: some of them had waded through the blood and filth of the revolution without contracting a single stain; others, led astray by deceitful theories, and by the spirit of the times, have long since acknowledged, and have sincerely laboured to repair their crimes; some even who had been guilty of crimes, moved by an honourable repentance, were sanguine to efface them, by real service. At the head of the party last alluded to, was a general whose glory eclipsed yours, his merit and not the partiality of clubs, had raised him, in the course of eight months, from the most insignificant gradation in the militia, to the command of an extensive army, which from the Ocean to the Rhine defended the frontier of France, against the Austrian, English, Prussian, and Dutch armies. Upon his accession to the command, he found this army destitute of Officers, the greater part of whom, thought that they would better serve their country under their king than under *Brisot*, increased with undisciplined and factious recruits, enfeebled and intimidated by reverses of fortune. With these disadvantages he had to encounter the best troops in Europe, and in point of number equal to his own, composed of selected men from the armies of Austria, Prussia and Great Britain, and not the feeble remnant of the Piedmontese army, united with some Italian regiments and a few third battalions of the Imperial army. These troops, besides, at the summit of their power, led on by generals of experience, and animated by the greatest success, fought under the very eye of their Emperor. Alsace was invaded—four French fortresses, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This general knew how to organize his army.—

He

He accustomed it to a species of tactics, which were best suited to it, and which was the circumstance, that chiefly tended to the successes of the French arms. In the course of one campaign he drove out of Flanders and Alsace every Foreigner, and forced beyond the Rhine, the greater part of his enemies; you were then known but by your exploits before, and particularly within the walls of Toulon (for you had not at that time gained the battle of St. Roche, against the Parisians, rebels to Barras) when Pichegru had raised France to its actual greatness, and had secured to her the very boundaries, which she at this day possesses, and which her enemies have not been able to pass. To his military talents he united the principles of humanity, integrity, and modesty: like you he had received of Robespierre the order of massacre, but he was a soldier, and did not wish to be an executioner. This man, deprived of the command of armies, by the restless jealousy of the Directory, had been returned a member of the national representation, the majority of which assembly, in which ex-conventionists no longer domineered, conceived themselves honoured in choosing him for their president. The legitimacy of the Directorial authority was not disputed. The Directors themselves did not attach more credit to it, than you do to the legality of your consular authority. The party of which I have spoken, revolted as you did, two years after to free themselves of the tyranny and insolence of the Directory.—They were desirous to free France of its chains, but not to substitute their own; they wished to procure for the national representation, the power of fulfilling the wish of its constituents, that is, of the French people. I am inclined to believe, and your subsequent conduct seems to prove, that it was to crush a party whose upright intentions

intentions were incompatible with your factious existence; and particularly to destroy the man whose military glory eclipsed yours, rather than from gratitude to Barras, that you sought to preserve the Directory; you succeeded in your object, and you were again rebel to the authority, which you had previously acknowledged. If your faction had failed of success, an amnesty would have been your only resource. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that two years after, when the period had arrived for you to take the place of the Directory, you represented that day of fructidor, in which you took so great an interest, as the source of all the misfortunes of the republic; this circumstance gives a just idea of the sincerity which characterizes you.

This new act of rebellion against a government, to the establishment of which, you yourself had contributed, secured to you the command of the army of Italy. I will not reproach you with the treachery by which Malta fell into your hands: the injustice of an expedition which you had solicited, and by which you attacked an ally without a declaration of war; and even without a pretext. Those are lessons for Europe—though foreign to my subject; I will be silent as to the massacres, committed by your orders in the Mosques of Alexandria, and of your cruelties at Grand Cairo. One of your creatures, general Berthier, in writing the history of your Egyptian campaign, was unable to find any other eulogium for your clemency than the following, very trifling indeed, after so many panegyrics already dictated in your favour by flattery, “*Buonaparté fit “Grace à ceux qui n’étoient pas coupables”*” (8); you extended your rage even to Syria; but a

(8) Buonaparté extends mercy to those who are not guilty.

paltry village (St. Jean d'Acre,) defended by a man of courage and genius (9) well acquainted with all your crimes committed in this remote corner of the globe, checked you—I shudder when I consider that it was not among the Turks, that your sick and wounded had the most implacable enemy to encounter. Attacked at last by the Muffulmen near Alexandria, the French conquered; you disgraced their victory, by repeating the forever execrable scene at Jaffa, where you caused to be hewed down by your cannon 4,000 men, three days after the fate of war had made them your prisoners. All these crimes which the English officers who learned them on the spot, attest with horror, committed by your own soldiery, who were indignant at them; I confess are foreign to your amnesty. But it must be allowed that they render it a matter of surprise, that he who committed them, is in a condition to grant an amnesty. You at last deserted your own army—you left it in the moment of honour and of danger; if a council of war had condemned you to suffer the death which you merited for having deserted in the face of the enemy, you would have esteemed yourself too happy to have obtained the amnesty which you now offer to others. The usurpation of the Supreme Power, which the faction of Syeyes placed in your hands without wishing it, rendered this useless to you—with the name of *deserter*, you brought back with you from Egypt those of *apostate* and *poisoner*,—noble titles to unite with that of *terrorist* which you acquired at Toulon!

Until this period you were but a subject, and a rebel subject, whenever your interest required

it. It was full time that you should receive the reward of so many variations, and acts of infidelity, which the majority of mankind previous to the imposition of the new law, called perjury and perfidy. A final rebellion occurred, to secure to you the sovereign power—you had taken an oath of fidelity to the National Assembly. From the Directory you had received the different situations which you have held. It, therefore, cannot be denied that the one and the other were your sovereigns. We will perceive how you have conducted yourself towards them; an intrigue, which will probably remain for ever in concealment, united the councils in the intention of changing the form of government. You were considered as the fittest person to effect this new revolution, in which even *Syeyes* could not equal you in cunning. Your brother *Lucien*, presided at the council de cinq cent; you there presented yourself to receive of him the supreme authority—your former accomplices (then your legal masters for you acknowledged them as such) were desirous to revenge themselves on you—pale and trembling you fled for refuge to your mercenary foldiers—there, you fell and remained insensible in every sense of the word. General *Lefevre* possessing more courage than you, entered at the head of a few grenadiers, this assembly composed of men more determined to usurp power than to protect it; your grenadiers dispersed them, and in recovering from your swoon, you received from *Lucien* the empire of France, and with that empire, the right, without doubt, of granting amnesties.

Where is the man who will dare to assert, that at this period you became the legitimate sovereign of France?—and that to obey you was a duty?—and to disobey you, an act of treason?

The

The bayonets of a few grenadiers could undoubtedly with equal efficacy as the *guillotine* destroy the pretended sovereignty of those assemblies who tyrannised over their countrymen, without any further authority, than that which they vested in themselves.—The same instrument can destroy your authority, though it certainly can never render it legitimate.—To your predecessors you had sworn fidelity—who like you (the 13th Vendémiaire) had obtained by means of the cannon and the bayonet, the adherence of the majority of the people of France, to a constitution to which they were indebted for their reign. They had, like you, kept open registers to receive those adherents, while at the same time, they took upon themselves the charge of reckoning the suffrages—but not one of them had the assurance to enter on the discharge of their duty, previous to the result of those registers being promulgated.—This act of audacity and insolence towards the nation was reserved for you—and the people of France read with astonishment the article of the new law which enacts “*La Constitution fait Bonaparte premier Consul.*” But the lot of your predecessors announces to you, your fate. It teaches you the value you ought to set on all the extorted oaths, which your own example has taught your people to violate.—The accomplishment of the vow of Jephtha was even more criminal than the vow itself (10).

What was the Consulate for the inhabitants of France? an unknown title—a mine not yet ex-

(10) Jephtha, an Hebrew Judge turned his arms against the Ammonites in 1187 before Christ.—In order to come off victorious, he made a vow to sacrifice the first person he met after the combat; in returning home his only daughter, running to congratulate him, was the person.—He adhered to his vow two months after.



explored, in which their simplicity led them to hope they would find forms of government blended with moderation—and your ambition the summit of your power. The impetuosity of the French nation was here tricked by the cunning of a Corsican.—Do you not feel apprehensive, the world will compare the institution of the Consulate of Rome with that of France?—The Consuls replaced Tarquin the proud, tyrant, but not king of Rome, for he acquired the sceptre by a crime. This usurper involved the Romans in continual wars, unproductive of any advantage to the empire. His race abandoned themselves to a scandalous debauchery, and the worst of luxury. Is it Louis XVI. and his august race, or you and your polluted descendants that recalls to the recollection of the present generation, the memory of Tarquin and his family? Your Consulate then, is not only an act of tyranny but an act of arrogance and gross insult to the sentiments and understanding of the nation.

Until the period of your assumption of the sovereign power, the glory of which, if there was any, was due to general Lefevre, and his grenadiers, the disgrace to the rabble whom they expelled, and the profit to you; I have proved that the royalists, faithful to their first oaths, were not rebels against those successive tyrants, who have oppressed France, and whom you have successively acknowledged, served and betrayed—strangers to those revolutions, how could they have been rebels? To be a rebel, it is necessary to be first a subject—now the quality of a subject of any government consists in three things, viz. first, in being born under that government, secondly, in a determined residence in the country which submits to it, thirdly, or by a formal, or  
silent

silent consent to its laws. But, is it allowed that this government is legitimate? Upon which of these requisitions do you mean to attack me, I, who born under the monarchy, have relinquished every thing dear to me, to preserve my fidelity to it. Never have I acknowledged either Mirabeau, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, Tallian, Barras, or you—never have I been their subject, never will I be yours. How then could I have been rebel? How am I interested in your amnesty? If you had been even willing to declare to me “ *je suis maître de la France, et je vous permets d’y vivre.* \* ” I would have tacitly considered the duty I owed to my sovereign, before I had accepted or refused your offer; but you have asserted that I was a criminal, I am therefore bound to belie you or I acknowledge my culpability. I have vindicated myself in proving to you that you calumniate me, in falsely imputing to me the commission of crimes, of which you yourself have been guilty.

It is not for the purpose of attacking you; but merely as a mean of exculpating myself of the decree which you caused to be published on the 26th April, that I have been forced to trace so rapidly the usage you have made of your usurped power. It has been such, that I am at this moment doubtful, whether those who judge us, will be more indignant at the audacity and illegitimacy of the usurpation, or at the tyrannical exercise of your power.

France (against whom the usurpations of the Directory, and particularly those which you advised, and yourself executed), had created so many foes, was pressed by her enemies in Switz-

\* I am master of France, and I permit you to reside there.

erland and Italy. You crossed the Alps with a new army ; your officers were as well aware as I was, with what facility your progress in the *Val d'Aoste* might have been checked, and by the impossibility of subsisting there, you could have been forced to retreat—the Austrians lulled by their success, did not provide against an attack—you arrived in Italy—you advanced as far as Marengo, between the fortresses of Tortona and Alexandria, with the river Po on your rear. In the situation you were, if your army had been beaten, it must have perished. But what consideration was it to a Corsican, the fate of some thousands of brave Frenchmen become useless to his elevation : the engagement was for a long time doubtful ; you were on the point of losing it, when general Desaix arrived, renewed the action, and carried off the palm of victory. This brave general, however, fell a victim to his courage ; and his death, placing your gratitude at ease, you raised pyramids to his memory, and ordered that several ports and vessels in France should bear the name of Desaix. Had not the fate of war cut him off, you would probably have removed him from the capital, or retained him in the same banishment, as generals Pichegru and Willot ; or in the same inaction as Moreau, Massena, Macdonald, &c. whose military glory is to your envious heart the vulture of Prometheus. Willot, who supported the glory of the French arms in the Pyrenees, and who since preserved the south of France against the fury of your jacobin hordes. Moreau—this general, as firm in misfortune as active in success, who by his modesty lessened the éclat of his victories, and by his integrity, alleviated their bitterness to the conquered. Massena—who did not betray the republic ; but who, by his firmness and address

in

in Switzerland, preserved it ; who, by his gallant defence of Genoa, with which no action in this war can possibly be compared, gave you time to arrive at Marengo ; to whom you were indebted for your previous triumph in 1795 ; who, in short, owed all his successes to his courage and not to fortune. Macdonald—who retreated with his army from the most remote part of Italy, through the midst of so many victorious enemies, and formed a junction with Moreau.

The victory of Marengo, that fortunate result to your temerity, did not tend to any decisive success. By an absurd capitulation, you obtained possession of the entire upper part of Italy, even as far as Mantua. After so many miracles with which fortune had favoured you, the question still remained undecided—so many acts of rashness, though crowned with success, were not accompanied by any decided result : it was on general Moreau and the army of Suabia, that depended the fate of France and Austria. This skilful general, always advancing against an enemy superior in numbers to, and which surrounded three parts of, his army ; equalizing the danger of his position, between the Danube and the mountains of Tyrol, had by his vigilance and activity arrived as far as the river Inn. He vanquished at Hohenlinden the principal army of the emperor ; and from that period encountering no further obstacle, on the route of Vienna, he dictated the peace, which your brother, Lucien, has since with less difficulty concluded at Luneville.

In this manner, general Pichegru broke the great strength of the coalition ; drove its armies from the interior, and conquered the Pays—Bas, Holland and the entire of Germany above the Rhine—that general Massena reconquered Switzerland

erland more honourably than your privy counsellor Brune had conquered it, or than your other privy counsellor Jourdan had lost it—in short, that general Moreau, conqueror for a series of nine months of the great army of Austria, forced the emperor to peace in order that Napoleone Buonaparté, inheritor of the successes of these skilful generals, as he had previously inherited the crimes of the factions, which he had successively served and betrayed, should enslave with a yoke of iron, France, and with her Europe!—in order that Napoleone should be king of France and Italy!—that his brother Murat, should be viceroy on the other side the Alps!—and his brother-in-law Le Clerc at St. Domingo!—that Joseph should ordain in his name the fate of Europe!—that Lucien should become the apostle of the Gauls, the restorer of the honour, and the moral institutor of France!—that Jeremiah should be appointed chief admiral until his nomination to the viceroyalty of Louisiana and perhaps Mexico! and that Louis, possessing incontestible rights to the crown of the august houses of Buonaparté and Beauharnois (E), should prepare inheritors to this great man!—that two millions of our countrymen should have perished on all sides, some of them murdered by your antient masters the jacobins—or killed in front of the French armies—against whom they contended with regret, engaged in a cause unworthy of them—others of whom fell by the arms of the numerous enemies which the crimes and audacity of the sect that you in vain disavow, had raised against France.

Ah! should our nation after so many sorrowful trials, which every species of tyrant have executed at its expence, at last return under the moderate government of an individual, as the only

safe port, after so many tempests, will she seek repose in an illegitimate and elective government, which would only multiply her misfortunes? Will she discard the man who the succession of eight hundred years points out to her? whose rights are the eternal safeguard of the tranquillity of the state,—the descendant of the august Philip, of St. Louis, of Charles the wise; of Louis XII. of Henry the great, of Louis the XIV. and of the virtuous Louis XVI. will she discard him for a *Corfican*, the obscure agent of Robespierre,—the acting general of Barras against the city of Paris, and who, conscious that he is a stranger in France, has secured against her, and independent of her, the interest of Italy? Will she prefer to the most antient race of the Franks whose very name identifies itself with that of our country, an ignoble race, the chief of which is sated with the blood of Frenchmen, and the members of which remain in an obscurity, from which nothing but the scandal of their vices will ever bring them before the public? Will the virtues of Louis XVI. his acts of kindness towards his people (a dreadful crime to efface by our contrition although but that of a few men) will they justify the exclusion of his heir, or the banishment of his daughter, who, worthy of her noble race, preferred in her exile, the French prince, to whom her father had destined her, to the heir to the imperial throne,—Ah! if she is an orphan, it is the French nation that should be her father.

Are we then condemned to rewitnefs those times so calamitous to mankind, when a few factious soldiers raised to the empire a barbarian born on the then savage borders of the Danube, or in the mountains of Corfica, to replace him some months after by another barbarian? Will the French blood flow for so many shameful quarrels?

rels? where is the man that will dare to pretend to the place, which Buonaparte, succeeded by another of his name, will have occupied? What will be the end of our dissensions? Recollect Buonaparte, that the army overthrew the Pretorian bands, and that the Pretorian bands frequently destroyed their own work.—What do you hope from those enclosed boxes, from those carriages lined with brass, from your oriental invisibility, from this numerous army of Gendarmes, and from this still more numerous army of *spies*, governed by Fouché, and supported by the produce of gaming houses, and houses of ill fame—a revenue the source and expenditure of which are equally honourable to your government; from those consular guards; from those cannon, that you constantly interpose between you and the inhabitants of your capital, who recollect as well as you, your victory of the 13th Vendemiaire—the conviction of this victory condemns you to remorse, to terror, and to precaution with which you will be persecuted, until their aversion to you is extirpated from their breasts—your alarm and their hatred will terminate but with your existence.

You have, until this period, betrayed or overturned every government, to which you had submitted—you have equally disrespected the constitution which you yourself imposed on France—

You have violated the laws which you yourself have enacted, and you have the folly to hope or the arrogance to expect that others should respect them; from motives of personal ambition, as foreign to the nation, as to yourself, you have provoked against her a general war,—and you have attacked her sovereignty. I do not allude to the sovereignty of the people—so absurd an expression, or rather so ironical, and so revolting in the

the mouth of a man, who enchains and oppresses this very people by Gendarmes, and innumerable spies, by consular guards, by special commissions, by military tribunals, by transportations and imprisonments, by military conscriptions, which have become constitutional and which rivet to the ground the victim upon whom they fall.—The third act of the constitution framed by Syeyes and Danau, and promulgated by the grenadiers of St. Cloud, declares, that “*every citizen of France, who shall accept an employment, or who shall receive any emolument from a foreign nation, shall loose his rights as a citizen.*” But, you have received without the knowledge of the bodies that represent the national sovereignty (or rather, you have extorted) the situation of president of the Cisalpine republic with 500,000 livres of Emolument. I am aware that it is asserted by your agents, that it was as *Consul of France* you accepted that presidency—the assertion is false; you were only consul of France for seven years and an half, when you effected your appointment as president of that republic for ten years.

You are then no longer a citizen of France; and in preserving the chief magistracy in opposition to the very law which you yourself enacted, you have excluded yourself from the very law itself, as I have proved you have been excluded from every law that preceded it. Enemy to Royalty under all its different modifications, destroyer of the Republic, and republican forms; traitor to every party, there is not a Frenchman of any party, or of any political sect, in whom there does not exist a right, and a duty to assign a limit to your tyranny. Violator of every law, no law can protect you. Who has exempted you from the laws?—yourself. Who will exempt your successor?—Your successor; in what manner will you



you reply to him, who, in treating you as you have treated so many others, will declare to you, "*La force fit ton droit, ta foiblesse est ton crime*\*." This is not all; of your own authority you added the Novarese, conquered by the French arms, to your new kingdom of Italy. To whom, is it not manifest that you accomplished this annexation, for the purpose of securing the passage of Simplon, to call to your assistance your Italian subjects, if at any time a party of French, wearied by your arrogant domination, should attempt to relieve themselves of the rod of iron with which you rule them? To whom is it not clear, that the fate of Piedmont remained provisory, until the period of its union with your kingdom? A man who is no longer a citizen of France, if ever he was such, has assumed to himself provinces conquered by the French arms—a conduct winked at by the French themselves! Oh! shame to my country!

This recent personal usurpation was committed when Austria, England, and, probably, Russia, were arming against France. It is to the extreme moderation of the English government that we are indebted for the escape from death, not only of the entire army, which, with your accustomed temerity, you sent to St. Domingo, destitute of provisions and military stores—but also of the entire body of French marines and allies—and with them, our last hope of ever re-establishing the slightest appearance of commerce or prosperity in the interior of France. But what does the prosperity and commerce of France signify, when the question of placing another crown on your head is agitated?

\* "*Force made thy right; thy feebleness is thy crime*"

Your

Your temerity, and your habitual arrogance, so conspicuous in your expedition to Egypt, where the most unforeseen event alone prevented NELSON from destroying the entire army, as some days after he destroyed the French Fleet, are not less apparent in your conduct respecting St. Domingo.—No one doubts that TOUSSAINT, satisfied with the situation of Captain General of St. Domingo, under the Sovereignty of France, would have been faithful to its metropolis.—And that he had contributed with more efficacy than any other person, to bring to perfection the order and culture that had been established there. (*But the Empire of France should be the Patrimony of the Family of Bonaparté, and your Sister, Madame Leclerc, had probably received the Island of St. Domingo as her Marriage Portion.*)—Toussaint, possessing equal penetration with yourself, discovered your snares. He was well aware that it was against him, and his colour, you sent 20,000 troops—He decided—the result of which was the entire destruction of the Island as a colony, and perhaps of more than one half of the population destined for the cultivation of it, with the loss of 40,000 French soldiers, whom your pride sacrificed there, without gaining one advantage by their death, but a DESERT. Do you not suppose the 150,000 Negroes who inhabit Guadaloupe, warned by the example of St. Domingo, and by the decree which you have just published, with so strong a tendency to establish the slavery of the Blacks, will sell you, at a very dear price, that conquest, or rather the sanguinary ruins which will result from it? Do you suppose, in short, that the troops necessary for garrisoning Martinique and St. Lucia will not absorb more than the profit they will be able to produce to the metropolis?

Such

Such are the consequences of this proud conduct, which does not bear even the appearance of contradiction—and which manifests itself in your very proclamations. When your revolutionary successes in Italy drove the unfortunate inhabitants of Pavia and Binasco to insurrection, your impious and ferocious pride declared to them, "*La foudre du ciel ne sera pas plus prompt que ma colere* (11)." When in a tone of Royalty (12) you sent word to Toussaint, "*Nous vous envoyons NOTRE beau frere Leclerc*." (13) You concluded the affected and insignificant compliment by this philanthropic phrase, "*Se vous resistez, je serai pour vous, ce que le feu est aux canes seches*." (14) What execrable language! Is it that of a Sovereign or of an ANTROPOPHAGI? Oh! that the people of France would read the proclamations issued by Louis XVI. and those issued by you, and let them choose between you and his heir.

The usurpations, and particularly the arrogance of the Directory, armed once more Europe against France:—Its tyranny prepared its fall—with what dare you reproach its members?—you, you have surpassed them in every respect. It was at your instance that they threatened, and finally oppressed Switzerland, and when at this moment she can neither furnish her neighbours with means or instruments to attack France, you freely resign her to the convulsions of parties, that you excite one against the other;—you reduce her by the

(11) The thunder of Heaven shall not be more rapid than my vengeance.

(12) The Kings of France always addressed their subjects in the plural number, as a mark of respect.

(13) "*We send you our brother-in law, Leclerc*."

(14) "*If you resist, I will be to you, what the fire is to the dry sugar-cane*."

excess of misfortune to the agonies of a political death. Those miserable troops of marauders, who, with the *National Cockade* in their hats, destroy all titles of property, and demand a re-union with France, would they even dare to shew themselves, if they were not confident of your support? You disable and weaken the men of property, and tranquil inhabitants, in order that they should be forced to call you to their assistance. You destroy the habitation of your neighbour, in order that he may abandon it to you—and in order to prepare Europe to see you take possession of this country, you dare to assert that Switzerland is independent, but that its interior troubles will soon force the neighbouring powers to interfere, in order to guarantee her from anarchy.—Great God!—the Swiss, disturbers of, and you the preserver of the repose of Europe! Language cannot express so much arrogance——  
*You* preserver of the peace of Europe; you who in the time of peace, without provocation, under no necessity, deriving from it no other advantage but the gratification of your caprice and your turbulence, place and displace Sovereigns, transfer the subjects of one to the other, and who, from the conduct you observe respecting every state, of which you can obtain possession, seek to annihilate every ancient right, in order that there should exist in the universe, no Sovereigns but usurpers like yourself!

What are the advantages which France has derived from this immoderate ambition, and this intolerable pride?—the certainty of an approaching and destructive war, against all Europe; the necessity of supporting an army, in extent double of that, which, under the kings, preserved it untouched, and secured to it respect; of taxes in proportion, conscriptions in full peace, no personal—

sonal security; since at all times, a man is liable to be deprived of the habitation and profession which he has chosen—in short, in the very heart of peace, the cares and calamities of war;—and if France was even certain of coming off victorious in this struggle, which will probably be more dreadful than any in which two nations were ever yet engaged, for both parties will contend for existence, how much will it contribute to her honour and glory to purchase, at the price of its blood, of its sufferings and its riches, the aggrandizement of the empire of Buonaparté, and the augmentation to the number of his slaves?

You have forced me, in vindication of myself, to trace over your crimes, and those committed by the sect which you served.—Such are the steps by means of which you obtained your power: now that you are in possession of it, you strictly preserve the regimen of this sect.—Its inquisition, its military and revolutionary tribunals, its imprisonments and arbitrary transportations, in one word, its oppressions of every description: and you have aggravated the sentiment of so many evils, by the shame of enduring them at the hand of a foreign adventurer, who voluntarily triumphs over the French, as over a conquered people.

You have even surpassed the principles of the Jacobin party.—This party, whose patriotism had for its object the seizure of property, had created an *Emigration* by its murders, and declared it a crime, the punishment of which was the confiscation of the emigrants property to their own advantage. Those laws which confiscated the property of the father, mother, wife, child, of an unfortunate, proscribed for a pretended crime, which they could not avoid, were held in detestation. This code was the most horrible act of

Marat, Robespierre, or Danton. At liberty to repeal it—invited to this act of justice by the general wish of the nation, and by the imperious cry of justice, you have adopted it.—You have, it is true, put a stop to the murder of emigrants. The feeble remains of a class of men, originally so numerous, were no longer to be dreaded. They submitted to your discretion—But you have appropriated to yourself those laws of robbery, in voluntarily giving them without necessity of party, and against men who consented to live under your laws, an extension that had escaped the avidity of the most infamous tyrants of France. Estates not disposed of; forests declared unsaleable, were in sequestration, or in other words, at the disposal of the nation. No new possessor opposed the entrance of the proprietor to his estate. It was a means, without inconvenience, of repairing, in part, the acts of injustice towards the unfortunate. Well, what have you done? you, who in your pride, so insulting to France, assert, *that in your individual person exists its Government*, as if the legislative assemblies, and its magistrates, did not constitute an essential part of the Government; you, who in fact acted as if they were not in existence, or as if they derived from you, at every instant, a new emanation of the supreme authority, concentrated in your own person. What have you done, do I say? you have confiscated the different properties, still in sequestration, which could have been of service to Government, that is to say in your style, *to Buonaparté and his creatures*; to your Consular guards, your Gendarmerie, your Legion of Honour, with which you are surrounded, but in vain, for they will neither have the power nor the desire to protect you against the indignation and the vengeance of the French nation. You have by a  
public

public decree confiscated all those sequestered forests(G), and as you advance unmasked not to absolute effective sovereignty, which you have already usurped; but to the nominal Sovereignty, which even falls short of what your pride dictates; it is to your profit that you have confiscated them; it is to your estate, and to that of the family of Buonaparté that you have annexed them. Robespierre and Marat even caused the confiscations to be sold for the service of the nation, or (if it be wished that I should so express myself) of their faction. You have surpassed the very founders of your ancient sect.

Though the conduct by which you have arrived at your tyrannical power should be consigned to oblivion: though the day of St. Cloud should be erased from the recollection of mankind, that day so dishonorable to Frenchmen, on which one Corsican conferred on another, for ten years, the absolute and despotic sovereignty of France; though in one word, your authority should be as legal as it is illegitimate, you exercise over France a despotism so complete, so active, so intolerable, that in the eyes of the most active partizans of arbitrary authority, you have surpassed the limits of non-resistance and of passive obedience. In fact, you give and take away, without distinction, every place, every employment, and every favour. You alone enact laws; you alter and violate them, when your pride is not willing to degrade itself by eluding them. You banish, whenever they incur your displeasure, those who should coincide in their formation. The judges, and consequently their decisions, are at your disposal. You imprison those who pardon, after you have condemned. The Courts of Justice are replaced by special commissions; the imprisonments, and the period of confinement, depend

on your will. You banish and transport without the verdict of a Court of Justice. The liberty of the Press, and of Speech are restricted. The very applauses at the theatre, are commanded or prohibited as your caprice directs. You absolutely ordain peace or war. You impose and alter at your will the taxes; you collect them without giving an account of them. In short, France is in your hands as *clay in the hands of a potter*; she dare not ask you "*pourquoi me donnez tu cette forme.*" ( 5 ) There have existed men, who have usurped a limited authority; others have converted it into a despotism; others have made a tyrannical use of it; but you are all at once *Usurper, Despot, and Tyrant*, the scourge of those who you call your countrymen; and (thanks to their inconceivable patience) the dread and disturber of the Universe. Your existence is a calamity to mankind; your death will be their deliverance. I have not, however, yet made a complete enumeration of all the crimes which my justification has forced on my recollection. There is one which I have omitted: your sacrilegious assertion, that Heaven sanctioned their commission.

Religion had been long persecuted by ridicule, by the destruction of its ministers, and of the places of worship. It resisted. It in secret conveyed consolation to the hearts of the unfortunate of every kind, whom you and your sect had rendered so. It shewed to them, in Heaven the indemnification of every thing that impiety had deprived them of on earth. In order to destroy and *consummate the grand philosophic work*, it was necessary to set at variance, those who had re-

(15) Why do you give me this form?"

mained



remained faithful to it; to afflict the consciences of respectable authorities; to oppose the Sovereign Pontiff to the Bishops; to place the *Intruder* on the same bench with the legitimate pastor; the perjured man beside him, who had preserved his faith, to set the one and the other in a quarrel with the pastor, who thought it his duty not to separate from his Church; in short, by such contradictions, to throw the human heart and understanding into an abyss of uncertainty. It was necessary to dispossess of their benefices, the entire body of pastors of every order; to annihilate at one blow the confidence of the people, who could no longer bear to witness in men, of whom they actually had no knowledge, but as spies nominated and supported by you, the ministers of your ambition and not those of religion. This conduct constituted a part of your general plan, a plan to screen your usurpation, in creating every where usurpers, in the religious as well as in the civil orders of society. It served at the same time your hatred for religion, and your ambition—the one, in removing the most religious part of the catholics, from the altars, which they saw served by perjured brutes, and in your pay; the other in making your new clergy an instrument for corrupting those, who forgetting their legitimate pastors, might attach themselves to their new guides, and to familiarize them with your usurpations, and the robberies which true religion never pardons, but in those who repent of, and repair their crimes. You meditated for a long time this sorrowful project. It was with the enemies of religion that you in secret prepared its restoration: threats and force had extorted from the sovereign pontiff an invitation to the bishops to resign their sees; he did not even in this act dissemble the

compulsion

compulsion with which he performed it, and which rendered it void. The same weakness on one part, violence and intrigue on the other, placed at your disposal some bishops, until then faithful to their churches. In short, the work of darkness openly manifested itself: the pious Lucien, affected like you by divine inspiration, speaks with so much unction, that he suddenly converts the Tribune and Legislative Body; the philosophers of your Privy Council second him in his apostolic career. The man who had originally professed the catholic religion, afterwards that of the National Institute, who had abjured both the one and the other at Cairo, to embrace Islamism, again declares himself a catholic. He condescends to permit France to follow the persuasion, because he himself adheres to it. The day is appointed for its restoration. He marches towards the holy temple, followed by the accomplices of his impiety and his usurpation, with a triumphant and warlike pomp.—The cannon every where resound; unbroke horses are led, in hand, by the Mamelukes, whom in his blindness he conducts to the gates of the temple, without doubt, to be witnesses to his double apostacy. He enters: The great THEODOSIUS, who had been deprived the communion of the faithful by a virtuous pontiff, until he had expiated a great crime, did not think he degraded the Imperial Majesty in bowing before his Creator: But Buonaparté comes to triumph, and not to expiate his perjury and his apostacy.—It is his pride, and not his contrition, that conducts him to the altar. He occupies the place of his Sovereign. He forces the people to offer up prayers to Heaven, for the very murderers of their King, and for the executioners of the French.—Foolish man! These prayers

prayers invoke the Divine vengeance (H) suspended on your head, and which by repentance is still in your power to avert. Some bishops, feeble after so many years of force, appeal for their fidelity to the usurper, to the very Deity who had previously received their oaths of allegiance to their legitimate sovereign—one of them selected, without doubt, to augment the scandal of a similar profanation (I) ascends the pulpit of truth to set there an example of perjury.

On a sudden, those men who surround you ; who support and exercise under you, your authority, the very men who have pillaged the places of sanctity, and prophaned the consecrated vessels, who have assassinated, proscribed and robbed their fellow citizens, become apostates of religion, and panegyrist of humanity and virtue—jealous of their new functions, they reserve to themselves, the exclusive right of relenting the misfortunes which they have occasioned, and of declaiming against the crimes, which they have committed, while they treat as a crime, the very complaints of their victims (K).

So many offences against Heaven and so many outrages against humanity, are even less odious and less revolting, than the predication of those frontless men—They are not hypocrites : for they well know that they deceive no person.—They are a thousand times worse. Hypocrisy is a respect which virtue exacts from vice—But your sacrilegious arrogance convoked the people to the holy temple, but to triumph with more eclat over Heaven and earth !

Violator of every law, I have proved that you have excluded yourself from every law—you have likewise excluded yourself from every church, from every association, from every religious community.—You assume the mask of religion but to profane

profane it, and to make it serve as an instrument of your ambition—every religion is authorized to reject you with horror, and it is on this dreadful concatenation of pride, of cunning, of false and extorted oaths, of rapine, of violence, of profanations and injustice, that you think to found and *legitimize* your authority—no, notwithstanding this display, it will remain for ever what it is, a transient tyranny acquired by force and which force can destroy; fortune opens to you but one way of extricating yourself from this *Dædalus*, into which you have fallen—justice ordains it, every other resolution, conducts you to the fate that attends every tyrant, by the road of distress and anguish, with such energy described by PHOCAS, usurper and tyrant like yourself :

“ Surtout, qui comme moi, d’une obscure naissance  
 “ Monte par la révolte à la toute-puissance,  
 “ Qui de simple soldat à l’empire élevé,  
 “ Ne l’a, que par le crime, acquis et conservé ;  
 “ Autant que la fureur s’est immolé de têtes,  
 “ Autant dessus la sienne il croit voir de tempêtes,  
 “ Et comme, il n’a semé qu’ épouvante et qu’ horreur,  
 “ Il n’en recueilli enfin que trouble et que terreur.”

HERACLIUS.

After having proved with such perspicuity, that the French emigrants are not guilty of any political crime, which reduces them to the necessity of having recourse to an amnesty ; that you

\* Sprung from a vulgar stem, ignoble, mean,  
 Self rais’d by treachery, to the royal scene,  
 Who from the ranks, to honours dared aspire,  
 And dared to vindicate what his crimes inspire,  
 Implacable ; unbounded in his rage,  
 No sign of mercy shewn to sex or age  
 His great avidity and lust of fame,  
 Will harrow up his soul, and damn his name,  
 And he who thus has spurn’d at Heavens decrees  
 Must howling, trembling sink to hell for ease.

calumniate

calumniate them in calling them *de grands coupables*, and much more scandalously, as you yourself have in many instances committed to their extent, the crimes which you falsely impute to them, I might dispense with discussing the amnesty which you offer them—but this piece, worthy of *Tiberius* by its tyrannical dispositions, by its concealments, and by the obscurity in which you have enveloped it, deserves some observations.

It appears from the 2d and 11th articles of the first title, that you assign them the entire of the tenth year, to avail themselves of your amnesty, and at the same time reserve to yourself, during the same period, the right of excluding those whom you wish to deprive of its benefits: the emigrant however who arrives at the gate of your kingdom, is compelled, 1st to swear allegiance to you, 2dly to renounce the resources that his services or the generosity of foreign nations, might have granted him—he will probably have expended in a long voyage, the pitiful means acquired by his industry, with the assistance of which he hoped to reach the hospitable roof of a relation or friend, escaped the storm of the revolution; and the *egotism* that has frozen so many hearts; he is now at your mercy—he is between France, from which you can exclude him, and the remainder of the world, from which you have forced him to exclude himself. If you reject him, where will he return? with what means? The very idea of his fate makes me shudder—there have been before you, tyrants who have by force extorted an unjust submission; but it was reserved for you, to exact an oath of fidelity, from those very persons who you were resolved not to admit under your authority.

H

Your

Your exceptions in article (X) mark your envious and vindictive character ; and evince that dark and profound tyranny, which in the obscurity of its laws, contrives means to elude them.—To whom for example is it not manifest, that in the numbers 1st, 4th, and 5th of article (X), it is your envious disposition, endeavours to exclude from his country, that skilful general (16), who by his victories, has laid the foundation of the grandeur and power of France ; a general whom she can never regard as her enemy, for having supported the party of the national representation against Barras.—In the sixth number, the bishops, who were unwilling to sacrifice their religion to your aggrandizement, are the subjects of your wrath—you banish them for disobedience to an order which they never received. For even admitting the absurd doctrine, *that the Pope is authorized without formality, without legal process, without assigning to them the cause, without hearing their defence, to dispossess the bishops of France of their sees*, it is a circumstance that cannot be disputed, that he never enjoined them to surrender their ecclesiastical situations, but merely invited them to resign them.

The exception in number 3 is still more remarkable : it affects those “ who since the foundation of the republic preserved situations in the houses of the ci-devant French princes.” You consider then, worthy of the honour of being your subjects, the infamous beings who at the first breeze of adversity destroyed the tree that supported them ; who abandoned their benefactor, and betrayed at once gratitude and their oaths, in order to incorporate themselves with the assassins, who founded in a deluge of blood,

this pretended republic, which you have made your patrimony, ah! let them but live under your laws—let them be polluted by your favour. In the indignation and contempt, with which they inspire me, I would wish them no severer punishment. You date then, the origin of your authority from the month of September, 1792 : from that deluge of crimes, which every party detests, —and which the greatest criminals impute one to the other—from those times of horror which caused the appellation of *Septembriseur* to be regarded as a degradation. Your previous obscurity, renders it impossible to ascertain the part you took in the crimes, which preceded the massacre of the Toulonese —The *Septembriseurs*, were murderers in the heat of passion, in inebriety and phrenzy. But you, from this single expression, have discovered the very bottom of your soul.—It is with *sang-froid*, and after ten years of reflection, that you declare yourself a *Septembriseur*.—What an abominable tyrant ! It is in order to fix on your head the sovereignty of France, to perpetuate it in your contemptible race, that you open registers to the French, and that you have made your flatterers suggest to them the renewal of the Salic law : the Salic law, in order to establish for ever, the crown of France in the race of the Corsican Buonaparté ! What audacity !

And what then will be to those, who are reduced to the necessity of availing themselves of it, the advantages of this amnesty, in the praise of which your flatterers are so zealous ? They will be subject for ten years, and probably during their existence to your special *surveillance* (17) and that of your agents, and liable at all times to be torn

from their homes, the only place perhaps, where, men who for the most part have lost every thing, have preserved a mean of subsistence, ten years under your *surveillance*! that is to say, ten years condemned to render an account of the most indifferent actions of their lives to this legion of spies and satellites with which you have inundated France, and to be subject to their mistrust, to their caprice, and their malice.—Great God! what horrible slavery! (observe the 12th, 13th and 14th articles) it is true that the 15th article grants to them, *du reste*, all the rights of citizens; among which is comprized, without doubt, the right of being dragged by the conscription to the armies, destined to augment the number of your happy subjects: *as for the dispositions relative to property* the object of the 2d title, they are the complement of the code of spoliation, proposed by Marat and Danton, and brought to perfection by your Forest laws.—They have been framed by the spoliators against the landed proprietors.—*Jusque datum sceleris.*

Your amnesty, then, is not a pardon in its effects,—for it is not so in right.—It is a snare, which you hold out to your enemies to degrade them, and to inveigle them into your power.—It is an act of hypocrisy to persuade Europe, that France is open to all her children, and, that it is in the power of those, whom the misfortunes of the times have separated from her, to enter, and reside there.—By this conduct, you hope to represent in the minds of strangers, those who reject your perfidious clemency, as refractory and turbulent, who voluntarily prolong their misfortunes, by an unwarranted obstinacy,—you wish to tear from them that sorrowful and final resource, the esteem and the compassion that unfortunate virtue inspires,  
in



in short, instead of a tolerable existence, you offer them but humiliations, oppressions and misery, without limits. I have not then any merit in refusing your amnesty.—It is to me more dreadful than even death.—So long as you oppress my country, I may be carried there by force, but never with my own consent will I enter it.

But even were your amnesty as full in its effects, as it is fettered with restrictions? were it as generous, as liberal, as equitable in its dispositions, as it is impoisoned with restraints, with oppressions, and indignities of every species, have I a right to accept it? To a legitimate government acknowledged for eight hundred years by the French nation, I have sworn allegiance,—you observed the same conduct; all France followed the example: never was there a nation, more eager to manifest its dispositions, than she was, at the period, immediately preceding the convocation of the states general; never can she manifest a stronger or more liberal attachment to monarchical government.—To this universal acclamation which manifested itself in every heart, and every spot in France, will you oppose the vow of the hero of the bastille, the sanguinary schemes of the convention; the suffrages of the grenadiers of St. Cloud, and of Lucien himself? will you oppose to it, those registers, opened by order of your chief valet *Cambacérès*, of this miserable being, who is not authorized to decree a badge of honour, or to appoint a Gendarme? Will you oppose to it, those lists, where there is apparent but the names of the fearful functionaries, that you have nominated, and that you support? The acts of kindness with which Louis XVI. loaded his people, have they broke their engagements? no, even you dare not assert it, your crimes and your suc-

cesses

cess do not constitute in you, a right over any person ; with my consent you shall never possess any over me.—God received the oath which I have sworn to my legitimate sovereign.—I have lived, and I shall die faithful to my duty.

## NOTES.

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(A) The state prisoners confined constantly in the Temple, generally amount to 160 in number, ninety of whom are forced to repose on the ground, there being but seventy places of accommodation. Exclusive of the Temple, there are twelve other state prisons. How advantageously has the Bastile been replaced!

(B) Captain Adams captured near the Cape of Good Hope, a vessel employed by France in the transportation of its inhabitants, and which was returning from leaving them in the savage region not far from Botany Bay, discovered by Perouse.— Another vessel laden with the victims of banishment, was attacked and sunk by an English Corvette off the east coast of America.

(C) The House of France is traced back from Henry IV. to Robert Count of Clermont, son of St. Louis to Hughes of France, surnamed Capet King of France in 987, an epoch since which his family have reigned without interruption.— Hugh Capet was son of Hugh the Great, Duke and Marquis of France. Hugh the Great was son of Robert King of France who succeeded his brother Eudes; the first of his race that ascended the throne of France in the year 888.—Eudes  
and

and Robert were descended from Robert the the strong, Duke and Marquis of France, killed in battle against the Normans in the year 886.—Robert the Strong, surnamed Macchabée, because he perished like Macchabée in contending with his enemies, for his country and his religion, was descended from the noblest and most courageous race of the Franks.—“ *Ortus ex nobilissimo fortissimoque Francorum stemmate,*” say the historians of that age.

After having risen to the highest pitch of human grandeur, we must descend to the lowest mark of degradation to discover the origin of this new race, whose shameful authority tarnishes the glory of France, and renders her in the midst of her triumphs, an object of the pity and contempt of Europe, which she has conquered. In tracing its genealogy with attention, there are to be found two or three generations of half savages, handing down from father to son for inheritance, but vengeance and assassination; no matter under what title, whether under that of *Buonaparte*, which Napoleone denies because it is his true name, or under that of *Bonaparte*, which he has assumed in order to pass for a Frenchman.—We have seen by what a mixture of successful crimes, and of unforgotten baseness, fortune has been pleased to draw Napoleone from *nothing*.—His brother *Joseph*, that honest man of the family, has just sufficient sense, to sign the treaties imposed by the French arms, and concluded by the cunning Talleyrand—and had just sufficient honesty to cause general Déphot to be killed, in order to furnish an excuse for the pillage of Rome.—The most rigorous jacobinism, and the most complete immorality raise Lucien above the vulgar, and render him particularly adapted

to be the apostle of the Gauls, and the restorer of the honour of France.—As for Louis, Jeremiah, and the other *Petits* Buonapartés, who the first Consul probably hold in reserve, in waiting for the opportunity of exhibiting them, and enriching them at our expence, it is a shame for the French nation to be condemned to know that so many mean persons are in existence.

The alliances of the house of Buonaparté, are worthy of her—a *Murat* who proposed to the Jacobin club, to change his name to *Marat* to eternize the name of this apostle of liberty and humanity, a *Leclerc* adjutant general of the massacres of Toulon, elected by this army of Jacobins to give an account to their Parisian friends, of that noble expedition which he performed on the 28th December, 1793—a *Baciocchi*, who the family hold in contempt, because he has not risen from his obscurity by the commission of crimes.—The French should recollect that the individuals who some time ago lived on chestnuts, or the trivial products of a filthy industry, possess without an exception, every place of rank in the city or country, every estate, every property, and above all a scandalous luxury.—Who has enriched them? Impoverished France, become the conquest of, and thanks to the august senate, the eternal patrimony of a Corsican and his confidants.

(D) The carriers at the port of Genoa, were so called, because a great number of them came from the mountains of Bergamo.

(E) The family of Buonaparté still remains in the greatest obscurity, while every inhabitant of France is acquainted with the family of Beauharnois.—Thanks to the Duke St. Simon, who  
I informs

informs us in his memoirs of the ridiculous name by which it was known, at the period, when the Regent suffered it to be changed for the one which it at present bears.

(F) I have alluded to transportations.—More than sixty officers, attached to royalty, were shot in Bretagne, in direct opposition to the positive capitulation concluded with them.—Mr. Frotté invited to conclude a treaty, was arrested at the very place where he had gone for the purpose, and shared the same fate.—Several chiefs, contrary to the covenant made with them, are detained in the different forts.—The greater part of the emigrants, whom Buonaparte suffered to return to France, in virtue of his amnesty, had scarcely arrived, when he caused to be disposed of by sale, the effects which might have remained to them in sequestration.—Such is the justice, the clemency, and the good faith of this man, on whom his agents lavish their adulations. The tyrant *Nero* when living found a senate to consecrate the memory of his crimes, and even the murder of his mother. But when the world was delivered of this tyrant, that very senate destroyed the statues they had raised to him, and the people who had before so frequently applauded him at the theatre, sought his body to drag it to the *Gemonies* (18). Become by your brutal and savage disposition, more odious than even *Nero*, to those who have the misfortune to serve you, you will not even find like him, a slave to scatter a particle of earth upon your corpse.

(G) The atrocity which exists in the laws, relative to emigration is not sufficiently known,

(18) The burying ground of malefactors,

M. Malesherbes, his wife, his children, and grand children, perished by the Guillotine in presence of each other. Three generations cut off at once, for no other crime than that M. Malesherbes had as legal counsel pleaded the cause of the King, his sovereign, before the Convention. If this generous magistrate, possessing a better knowledge of the villains under whose *axe* he lived, had preserved his life, and that of his family by flight, which his death would have but too well justified, he would have been, by the law enacted by Marat, declared an emigrant, and by the supplementary law respecting forests, enacted by Buonaparté, who lately through ostentation, erected a monument to his memory, would have seen himself deprived by the confiscation of his woods, of the last support of his old age, and of his family. It is too much to pretend to enjoy at the same time, the profits of iniquity, and the honours of virtue.

(H) The following is the strict meaning of this Latin prayer, which you have inserted in your new liturgy. “ *We render you O Lord our supplications for Napoleone Buonaparté, who massacred at Paris 8000 of our fellow-citizens, rebels to Barras, and at Toulon 1500 rebels to Robespierre; for Cambaceres who voted for the assassination of our legitimate Monarch Louis XVI. whose life was devoted to our happiness; and for a third Consul, whose name we are not well acquainted with, having never, either previous to or subsequent to his Consulate, even heard it mentioned.*”

(I) The demissionary Archbishop of Aix, selected for this scandalous purpose, preaching the three preceding years in the Spanish Catholic Chapel in London, said : “ *Nous ne pretorons point* de

“ *de Sermens, violateurs de nos Sermens.*” (19)  
 But at that period Suwarrow was at Turin, and the Archduke Charles at Zurich, Whether does this Archbishop pay more adoration to Christ or to Fortune?

(K) The most celebrated poet of our age composed, “ *sur le Malheur et la Pitié*, a poem worthy of his genius. This poem, immortal as its subject, does not inspire a pretended or fruitless compassion—it softens every heart—it effects repentance—it conducts to justice by pity—in no part, does the bitterness of resentment interfere with the melody of its cantos; the detail of misfortunes inspires but the desire of repairing, not avenging them. It is not thee immortal *Delille*, but christian charity, that speaks by thy mouth! Fouché sent for the printer, no doubt, for the purpose of telling him, that this poem shall be published at the expence of the nation, no! your minister prepared an act of tyranny unexampled even in our days, he told him: “ *I cannot prevent your foreign associates from publishing the poem which has “ le Malheur et la Pitié,” for its subject, but, if they do, you shall be confined in the Temple.*”

(19) “ We will not violate our Oath by swearing.”



## NOTE ON FOUCHE.

EX-MONK, EX-MINISTER, SENATOR, FRIEND TO NA-  
POLEON BUONAPARTE AND COLLOT D'HERBOIS.

*Extracted from the Moniteur du quartidi 4th  
Frimaire l'an 11d de la Republic, &c. (24th No-  
vember, 1793.) No. 64, page 258, 2d column. The  
representatives of the people, FOUCHÉ of NANTES,  
and COLLOT d'HERBOIS, to the National Conven-  
tion. Commune Affranchie\*, 26th Brumaire 2d  
year of the Republic.*

### CITIZEN COLLEAGUES.

We pursue our mission with the energy of re-  
publicans, who feel the profound sentiments of  
their characters. We will not descend from the  
high situation in which the people have placed  
us, to occupy ourselves with the miserable in-  
terest of men more or less culpable towards their  
country—we have removed from us every indi-  
vidual, because we have no time to lose, no fa-  
vours to bestow, we ought not, nor do we, con-  
sider any thing but the republic—but your de-

\* Lyons.

crees which enjoin us to give a great example, a glorious lesson ; we listen but to the cry of the people, who wish that the blood of patriots, shall be avenged in a speedy and terrible manner, in order that humanity may have no reason to lament in seeing it flow afresh. Convinced that there does not exist in this city a single innocent, but he who was oppressed and loaded with irons by the assassins of the people, we mistrust the tears of repentance : nothing can weaken our severity. Those who seek to surprise you—those who have lately extorted from you a respite for a prisoner, have sufficiently experienced it—we are on the spot, you have invested us with your authority, and we have not been consulted!

It is incumbent on us to tell you, Citizen Colleagues, that indulgence is a dangerous weakness, apt to rekindle criminal hopes, at the very time when it is necessary to destroy them : it has been urged in favour of an individual, it has been solicited in favour of all those similarly circumstanced with him, for the purpose of rendering illusory, the effects of your justice. No one has yet dared to ask you for the report of your first decree relative to the *annihilation of the City of Lyons*, but scarcely has any thing been done to execute it. The destructions are too slow—republican impatience requires means more rapid. The explosion of the mine, and the devouring activity of the flame, can alone express the extent of the popular power. Their will cannot be checked ; like that of tyrants, it should have the effect of thunder.

(Signed) COLLOT d'HERBOIS, AND FOCHE.

*Moniteur du 13th Frimaire, ann. II. (3d December, 1793), No. 73, p. 294.*

Citizen Colleagues,

We send you the bust of Châlier and his mutilated head, such as it is, escaped the third time the axe of his atrocious murderers. No indulgence Citizens Colleagues, no delays, no lenity in the punishment of crimes, if you wish to produce a salutary effect. The kings observed lenity in punishments, because they were feeble and cruel. The justice of the people should be as prompt, as the expression of their wish. We have used efficacious means to mark their entire power, so as to serve as a lesson to every rebel: we will not address you on the subject of priests, they have not the privilege to occupy us in particular; we do not make a trifle of their impositions. They domineered over the conscience of the people—they have led them astray—they are accomplices in all the blood that has been shed; their sentence is pronounced. We daily avail ourselves of new treasures.

(Signed) COLLOT d'HERBOIS AND FOUCHÉ.

*Moniteur*

*Moniteur du Quintidi, 5th Nivôse, ann II. (25th December, 1793.) No. 35, page 338.*

FOUCHE to COLLOT d'HERBOIS, *his Colleague and Friend, Member of the Committee of Public Safety.*

And we my friend, we have contributed to the taking of Toulon, in spreading terror among the cowards who entered it—in presenting to their view, thousands of the dead bodies of their accomplices—the war is terminated, if we know how to put this memorable victory to advantage.—Let us be terrible, not fearful of becoming feeble, or cruel; let us annihilate by one stroke of our vengeance, every Rebel, every Conspirator, every Traitor—in order to spare us the grief and trouble of punishing them after the manner of Monarchs—Let us exercise Justice after the manner of Nature—*Let us avenge ourselves like men—Let us strike like thunder, and let the very ashes of our enemies disappear from the soil of Liberty—Let the ferocious English be assailed on all sides, and let the entire Republic, like a Volcano dart on them the devouring Lava—Let the infamous Island that produced these Monsters, strangers to humanity, be for ever buried in the Sea.*—Adieu my Friend, I am overcome with Joy. Her tears inundate my very Soul—The Courier awaits—I will write by the ordinary Messenger.

(Signed)

FOUCHE.

P S. There is but one manner of celebrating this Victory; we send this evening 213 Rebels *Pour etre mettrailer.* (20)

(20) To be hewed down with Grape shot.

*Translation of the Proclamation circulated by Buonaparté in the Arabian Language, upon his landing in Egypt.*

*In the name of God, gracious and merciful.—There is no God, but God, he has neither son nor associate in his kingdom.*

## INHABITANTS OF EGYPT.

When the Beys endeavour to persuade you, that the French have come here for the purpose of destroying your religion, do not credit their assertions.—It is an absolute falsehood.—Answer those deceivers, that the French are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants.—Tell them that the French adore the Supreme Being, and honour the Prophet Mahomet and his Holy Koran.—The French are Mussulmen.—The period is not remote when they marched to Rome and destroyed the throne of the Popes, who excited Christians against the professors of Islam (the Mahometan Religion) they afterwards directed their course to Malta, and expelled from that island, the Infidels, who believed themselves called on by Heaven to wage war against Mussulmen.

HISTORICAL NOTE RESPECTING NAPOLEONE  
BUONAPARTE.—

Napoleone Buonaparté, born at Ajacio, one year prior to the conquest of Corfica, was educated at the Military Academy by the bounty of Louis the XVI.—He afterwards made him an Officer of Artillery.—Those acts of kindness have not been able to soften his rage against the French people.—From an Officer of Artillery, he was, in consequence of the retreat of several Officers of his Corps, appointed in 1793, at the period of the levy of 300,000 Volunteers, to the command of the Battalion of Ajacio—The English Squadron threatened Corfica. Napoleone as faithful to the New Republic, as he had been to his King, proposed to the English Admiral to surrender him the Island; the Admiral rejected his propositions, aware of the insignificance of the man who made them. The Republican General, suspecting his treachery superseded him, and removed him to the Continent. He remained concealed in the environs of Marseilles, until Barras and the other Deputies collected an army against Toulon.—The Corsican, perceiving an opportunity of shedding the blood of France, recovered his Republicanism, and there being a deficiency of Artillery Officers, he served as Chief of Battalion. The massacres at Toulon raised him to the rank of General of Brigade.—After the death of Robespierre, the dregs of every nation, established in the houses of the murdered or fugitive Toulonese, marched against Marseilles. Napoleone was one of their Chiefs—under the command of Cadroi and Mariette, the Troops of the Line and National Guards of Marseilles, defeated them near Cujes—Napoleone made his escape to *Nice*, where he was arrested

arrested by the Commander of the Gendarmerie, who had orders to send him to Paris. This ancient Officer, Lieutenant-colonel in the Department of the Lower Alps, was superseded by Barras in 1797 to revenge the Corsican, then General of the French Forces in Italy. Pardonèd like the other *Terrorists*, he kept himself concealed in Paris, under the roof of his friend *Baptiste*, a Comedian of the Theatre of the Republic, until a new opportunity of shedding French blood drew the Hyena from his *Den*.—He offered his services to Barras; who, having already witnessed his exertions, accepted them *the 13th Vendémiaire*.—For the success of this sorrowful day, he recompensèd him by the hand of an Andromache of whom he was tired, and gave him the command of the Army of Italy, which he strengthened by every means, until then refused to *Scherer*.

Since the period at which these circumstances occurred, the world has witnessed this new Attila in action in Italy, at Malta, in Syria, in Germany, in Switzerland, in St. Domingo, and above all in France; it has seen him to the eternal shame of the present generation, destroy, create, and dispose of kingdoms as so many head of cattle; and it is the despotism of such a man, that his associates and the cowards who dread him, present to the *French Nation*, as the only asylum against the return of *Terrorism*, and to Europe, as a shield against the Revolutionary Principles which his emissaries, Brune, Sebastiani, Otto, &c. &c. are so zealously disseminating in every part of the world. In vain do those men to whom Buonaparté grants their share of the spoils of the world, insinuate to the Army, that *he alone* is worthy of being their Chief, and that their legitimate King cannot  
feel

feel attached to them.—Why would Louis XVIII. hate the brave inhabitants of France, who, confining themselves to their honourable profession, have made their Country triumph over the attacks of Foreign Armies? what better Army, or one more gloriously proved, could he desire? In short, does not this Prince feel, as well as the entire army itself, that it is not with one or two hundred Officers at most, who remain of the great number, who followed him in his exile, that he can replace 1500 Officers, absolutely necessary for the totality of the French Army. The Generals and Officers who, by their talents and bravery have raised themselves to the different gradations in the Militia, will find in this legal Monarch, instead of an Adventurer whom they despise, a Commander worthy of them; and under the Monarchy, that stability which is exclusively attached to it, and which, perpetuating their personal elevation in their families, will eternalize the recompenses that should only cease with the advantages which their services have rendered to France,—Who can suppose that it is in the person of the most illustrious disciple of the school of Robespierre, that an Asylum against the return of *Terrorism* is to be sought? In one word, the period of illusion is passed, and every wish anticipates an event which alone can render happiness to France, and repose to Europe.—Buonaparté has, in the most solemn manner, acknowledged his Master and King, by the very proposal he has dared to make him, to abdicate his Crown—never will the French people forget the insolence of the demand of the Usurper—never will they forget the dignity of the reply of their legitimate Monarch.

DECREE



# DECREE RELATIVE TO EMIGRANTS.

## TITLE I.

### *Dispositions respecting the Persons of Emigrants.*

Article I. It is enacted, that an amnesty shall be granted to every person charged with the crime of emigration, whose names have not been already definitively erased from the list.

II. That the emigrants shall return to France before the 22d of September, 1802.

III. That, on their return, they shall declare before any of the commissioners appointed for that purpose, in the cities of Calais, Brussels, Mayence, Strasburg, Geneva, Nice, Bayonne, Perpignan, and Bourdeaux, that they enter the territories of the republic in virtue of the amnesty.

IV. That this declaration shall be accompanied by an oath of fidelity to the government established by the constitution; and not to maintain either directly or indirectly any connection or correspondence with the enemies of the republic.

V. That those who shall have obtained from foreign powers either place, title, distinction, or pension, shall declare the same before the above-mentioned commissioners, and formally renounce the same.

VI. That, in failing to enter France before the 22d of September, 1802, and of complying with the conditions required in the preceding articles, they shall forfeit the privileges of the amnesty, and shall be definitively maintained on the list of emigrants, if they do not produce satisfactory proof, of the impossibility of entering it before the period fixed; and, if they do not, besides,

besides, shew that they have complied with, prior to the expiration of the same period, before the envoys of the republic, sent into the country where they reside, the aforesaid conditions.

VII. That those who are actually in France, shall, under the pain of the same forfeiture, and of definitive maintenance on the list of emigrants, make, within a month from the date of the present act, before the prefect of the department where they reside, the same declarations, oaths and renunciations.

VIII. That the commissioners and prefects appointed to receive them, shall transmit without delay to the minister of police, a duplicate of the case which shall have been drawn up; upon an examination of the certificate, the minister of police shall prepare, if necessary, a certificate of amnesty, which he will send to the minister of justice, by whom it will be signed and delivered to the individual whom it concerns.

IX. That the aforesaid individual shall reside at the place where he shall have made the declaration of his entrance into the territory of the republic, until the delivery of the certificate of amnesty.

X. That the following shall be excluded from the present amnesty:—1st, Those who have been chiefs of armed assemblages against the republic—2d, Those who hold commissions in the armies of its enemies—3d, Those who, since the foundation of the republic, have preserved places in the establishment of the ci-devant French princes—4th, Those who are known to have been, or who are at present, instigators or agents of civil or foreign war—5th, The naval and military commanders; as also the representatives of the people, who have rendered themselves guilty of treason to the republic—6th, The archbishops and bishops who, disavowing legitimate

legitimate authority, have refused to resign their fees.

XI. That the number of emigrants definitively maintained on the list, shall not exceed one thousand; five hundred of whom are to be named before the 22d of September.

XII. That the pardoned emigrants, as well as all those who have been definitively erased, since the decree of the Consuls of the 19th of October, 1801, shall remain during ten years under the special superintendence of government, from the day on which they have been erased, or delivered the certificate of amnesty.

XIII. That government shall be authorised, if necessary, to oblige those, subject to this special superintendence, to remove from their accustomed residences to the distance of twenty leagues. That they shall be further obliged to remove to a greater distance, should circumstances require it; but that the latter requisition shall not be enforced until the Privy Council shall have sanctioned it.

XIV. That after the expiration of ten years of superintendence, every individual, against whom the government shall not be obliged to have recourse to the measure specified in the preceding article, shall cease to be subject to the before-mentioned superintendence: that government shall have the power of prolonging it, to the lives of those against whom such a measure shall be deemed necessary.

XV. That the individuals subject to the special superintendence of government, shall enjoy all the rights of a citizen of France.

## TITLE II.

*Dispositions respecting Property.*

XVI. That the pardoned emigrants shall not in any case, or under any pretext, sue for the shares of presuccession or succession, or any acts and arrangements, made between the republic and individuals before the present amnesty.

XVII. That such of their properties as remain in the hands of the nation (except the woods and forests declared by the law of the 22d of December, 1795, of the fourth year of the republic, to be unalienable, the immoveable property assigned to the service of the nation, the rights upon the great canals, and dividends of stock since their emigration), shall be restored to them without restitution of revenue, which, conformable to the consular decree of the 17th of July, 1799, should belong to the republic, until the day on which their certificate of amnesty should be delivered.

That the present Senatus Consulte shall be transmitted by a deputation to the Consul of the Republic.

(Signed)

TRONCHET, President.

CHASSEL and SERRURIER.

By order of the Preservative Senate,

Secretary-General, CAUCHY.

THE END.











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